



A Roll in the Hay with the Director

The Manager in a Genderhistorical Perspective

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DOI (link to publication from Publisher):
[10.5278/freia.14136787](https://doi.org/10.5278/freia.14136787)

Publication date:
1995

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication from Aalborg University](#)

Citation for published version (APA):
Rittenhofer, I. (1995). *A Roll in the Hay with the Director: The Manager in a Genderhistorical Perspective*. Department of History, International and Social Studies, Aalborg University. FREIA's tekstserie No. 18
<https://doi.org/10.5278/freia.14136787>

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Paper
February 1995

18

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**A Roll in the Hay with the Director:
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Paper from

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DK-9220 Aalborg Ö

Phone: +45 98 158522

Print: Kopicentralen, Aalborg University, 1995

Layout: Inger Jensen and Ellen Nyrup Pedersen

ISSN: 0907-2179

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Preface

The papers published in FREIA's paper series nos. 17 - 25 were all presented at the conference on **Gender Relations - State, Market, and Civil Society: The Nordic Experiences in a European Perspective**, arranged by FREIA - Feminist Research Centre in Aalborg, Aalborg University, August 14 - 18, 1993.

The idea of the conference was to examine the development of gender relations in Denmark/the Nordic countries in a comparative European perspective. In focus was the relationship between state, market and civil society/the family in the Nordic countries: the significance of this relationship to the development of gender relations - and in reverse, the influence of gender relations on the development of the Nordic welfare states. A comparative European approach was chosen for its usefulness in highlighting the specificities of the "Nordic model" regarding gender relations.

A primary purpose was to strengthen national and international cooperation on Ph.D. programmes in Social Science Gender Studies. The conference addressed Danish senior researchers within the Social Sciences. A few Ph.D.-students were invited as well as experts from other Nordic countries and international capacities within the field. The number of participants was 25. The conference was financed by the Danish Social Science Research Council.

The programme of the conference included four sessions:

- I. Gender and the Labour Market
- II. Gender, Welfare, and the Family
- III. Gender, Power, and Democratic Citizenship
- IV. Gender Theory and Feminist Research.

The full programme of the conference will be found at the end of this publication together with a list of the conference papers published elsewhere.

Ruth Emerek & Anna-Birte Ravn

During the past years, competing concepts of leadership have been part of the debate in management circles. Does this mean a larger number of women in future manager positions? To understand this, we have to look at how conceptions of gender and manager interrelate. In answering these questions, I argue that the male dominance in management is due to a conflict between culturally defined female gender stereotypes and leader stereotypes which vary in different European societies as well as over time.

1. Introduction

The Danish economic newspaper "Børsen" took part in this discussion. In the spring of 1993 Børsen's "Guldnummeret"¹ presented the top twenty of the most respected business people in Denmark. All of the twenty "pin-striped top managers who represent the classical virtues"* as well as "the new ideal" are men. The top twenty list thus reflects existing gender reality.² In the same issue we are introduced to four different visions of the future ideal Danish top manager. One of the four visions involves a woman. In order to analyse whether the four visions promise a future change of the positions for women in management, I look at the alternative imaginations and how they relate to gender.

Type one has none of the "modern symbols of power". The BMW is replaced by a bicycle, a mobile telephone peeps out nonchalantly of the pocket, a baby is sleeping in his arms. He "radiates action", the eyes behind smart glasses firmly fixed on future horizons. The individualistic type two has the need for "a large degree of freedom and free scope". A "consumer of fast cars and women", he does not want fellowship, does not tolerate slowness among employees and is

* Quotations have been translated by the author.

"always full of go". The third male prototype is "dynamical" and "very busy", but still finds time for "relaxed and thoughtful conversations". "He is vigorous, and he shows strongness and maturity both in human and in business relations."

Apart from the vision of a manager taking care of a baby there are no surprises so far. Therefore, the most interesting proposition is the one suggesting a woman as a future manager type. The woman manager is the only one "caught while holding a break". She is "practical", "flexible" with "an outstanding personality" and the ability of solving personal conflicts. She can be "feminine" and "militant" at the same time, having a "distinct sense for teamwork" as well as "natural competence". Her "family is living in her heart", thus holding her brain free for professional tasks.

Two out of three constructions of male managers are shown in powerful and expensive looking offices, wearing exclusive clothes. The female top manager as well as her male colleague with the "feminine traits" are the only ones not shown in the traditional surroundings of an office representing the powerfulness of their position. While he is standing under the open blue sky, "top manager Eva" is placed inside a stable on a wheelbarrow, standing in the midst of a haycock. The more than unconventional situation of finding a top manager in these surroundings not only underlines the peculiarity of a woman placed at the top. It also awakes certain sexual associations and was seen as a seductive dream by another Danish newspaper: "A roll in the hay with the director."³ To make her position as manager visible in the unusual environment she is provided with a mobile telephone, a portable pc and a practical, very expensive looking suit.

Her male designer consciously chose a woman as his suggestion for a future manager type. This is not only indicated by the headline

"Women are taking over" or the prototype's name "director Eva". In his concept, what will be needed in the future is a manager type who functions as a figurehead to characterize the company's profile externally. Focusing on the assumption of a future need for "flexibility" and "multiplicity", "it was only logical to choose a woman", who "sees herself more as a coordinator than as a boss". "She has the smooth and varied way of a woman dealing with things", while he is regarding a man to be "too awkward and unvaried". "She IS power and thus has no need to surround herself by symbols of power, while Adam believes those to be necessary." Nevertheless, both the man-with-the-baby manager type and the woman manager were evaluated by the magazine's expert as unrealistic visions, the first one judged to be "effeminate".

The choice of a woman as a future alternative manager type indicates the existing reality where a manager is expected to be a man, and where a man's attributes are seen to be identical with those of a manager. Man and manager are intertwined categories. In order to change the professional character of managers, a change of gender was used. In order to construct a visionary manager prototype, the designer worked with the idea of man and woman, symbolized by the names Adam and Eva, turning the stereotypical characteristics of the male gender into negative ones. When making use of the female stereotype, he turns the intertwined categories man and manager upside down by doing the culturally impossible thing of connecting the concept of manager to the concept of woman, thus linking the idea of woman to the picture of the future manager.

The manager woman is the only one of the four visions which is openly based upon the contrast of conceptions of gender and leadership. And it is the only surprising one of the four types of future managers, exactly because it conflicts with our culturally determined

expectations. The necessity of gender change in order to design a completely new picture of the manager not only indicates to which extent our culture has attached male gender to the manager stereotype. It also points to the dynamics of the category of "manager" as well as the static character of the gender dichotomies.⁴ But the design of four futuristic manager types also clearly shows that gender and leadership are culturally determined and therefore historical constructions.

2. Historical perceptions of gender and leadership

The low number of female top leaders certainly does not result from women's poorer abilities or qualifications.⁵ Rather women wanting to make a career have to face problems of a kind men do not; these problems are gender specific. But this does not mean that we have to consider career women to be the problem themselves. To understand the nature of their problems, we must for a start have a look at the historical meanings of gender.

Gender "is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power... As a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, gender involves four interrelated elements": first, culturally available symbols; second, normative concepts; third, politics, social institutions and organizations; fourth, subjective identity (Scott 1986, 1067-1068).

Applying this definition of gender indicates that the reason for women's problems in management does not lie in real, but in perceived differences between the sexes. These perceived differences between the sexes are elements of a normative concept, which takes the form of an unequivocal binary opposite. This opposite categorically and unequivocally determines the meaning of the terms woman and

man, femininity and masculinity. The contents of these terms are expressed in gender stereotypes, which apply generalized determinations on persons on the basis of their physiological sex. As regards the low percentage of women in management functions, we are dealing with the problem of the stereotypical gender conception of woman and man. While these conceptions are preventing women from getting into management positions, they obviously support men's advancement into leader positions. In other words, the male gender stereotype fits better into what societies consider being necessary to fill leader positions. Gender stereotypes give meaning to the terms woman, man, manager. They are linguistic terms, rooted in history and thus part of our cultural background. Their ideological function is to supply us with a picture of gender, which we project on persons according to their sex, thereby shaping our evaluation of them fundamentally.

What, then, are gender stereotypes, and where do they come from? Already in the 1970s Karin Hausen⁶ explored the question of when and why gender stereotypes came into being. In the following, I first summarize the main arguments of her study. Then I relate them to the question of management.

Gender stereotypes emerged from a historical process which started in the 18th century, and their development reaches far into the 20th century. Until 1780, human beings were defined on the grounds of their social background and class. However, between 1780 and 1810 the physiological sex⁷ became more and more important as a basis for generalizations. Increasingly, normative gender specific definitions of character were predicated. The resulting system of statements about the entity of the sexes developed from and demanded validity on the grounds of the "common context of the experience of the social and economic division of sexes" (Hausen, 363). In the 19th century, gender

characteristics and gender specific behaviour patterns corresponded to the physiological sexes.

Rosenbeck and Rang⁸ have argued, that the polarization of gender characteristics already existed before the end of the 18th century. Consequently, Hausen must be wrong when she contends that the polarization of gender characteristics was a new invention. However, this critic rests on a misunderstanding. Hausen argues, that statements about "the other sex" always had been a pattern of male self definitions in patriarchal societies. Her point is that this contrast acquired a specifically new quality between 1780 and 1810. Now gender characteristics were deduced from nature as a combination of biology and determination and was at the same time transferred to people's internal entity. As opposed, earlier statements about woman and man were deduced from their social positions and the virtues corresponding to these positions. In other words: the novel is that statements about the sexes became biologically founded. A person was no longer referred to as a representative of a certain social position, but as a representative of an entire sex (Hausen, 368-369). Sexual characteristics became stereotypical and came to include norms for qualities as well as for appropriate behaviour and social roles.

Hausen also makes a connection between the emergence of the gender stereotypes and a specific social and cultural development in Europe. Thus, gender stereotypes can be interpreted as an attempt to construct new and stable patterns of orientation which could substitute older patterns in family structures. At the same time, a new and restaurative conception of family was to be introduced. The ideological content of the gender stereotyped term "woman" was to bind a woman to the family, childrearing and what we today call "the private sphere", while "man" was connected to characteristics and patterns of behaviour which were to determine him for "the public sphere" and thus career

and political as well as economic power. Hausen's study is concerned with Germany. I assume that this development also took place in other European countries, e.g. Denmark.

After this excursion into history, where is the connection between managers and gender stereotypes? As I mentioned, the second part of Scott's definition of gender states that gender is a way of maintaining power relations. In this connection gender stereotypes first served to establish separate spheres for the sexes. From the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, they then served to conserve the separate spheres and thus to keep women from becoming visible in public, coming into power and having careers. Today, my hypothesis continues, we find women in politics as well as in business to varying degrees all over the world. Gender stereotypes now function as a means to keep women from the last bastion of male exclusivity: the top positions in politics and business. In the binary construction of gender, power is related to the gender "man". Positions in for instance top management are today some of the few spheres where we still find almost male exclusivity.

On the basis of Hausen's excellent study, I shall introduce another hypothesis. Hausen shows that gender stereotypes were connected to a pattern in the division of labor. This development may be seen as a parallel to the beginning industrialization and thus the emergence of a number of new professions, the profession of entrepreneur (later on manager) being one of them. The formation of entrepreneurship - and this is the central point here - occurred simultaneously to the irrevocable intertwining of the term entrepreneur and the gender stereotype man.

Today, expressions like "women managers", "women leaders", "female leadership" suggest that "the leader" still generally and automatically is assumed to be a man.⁹ Our ideas of a professional career, including

leader characteristics and conceptions of working and private life, fits into our perceptions of a man and therefore not of a woman. In connection with our cultural ideas about gender, a woman leader is a paradox in itself, a contradiction in terms. The central point of my hypothesis is that manhood and leadership, man and leader, are inter-related ideas, and that this is the reason for the low percentage of career women as well as for the prejudices successful career women still meet at work.

In the logics of our gender system, "woman" cannot simultaneously be a complete woman and a leader; and she can never be a complete leader. As a consequence, women are considered unfit for leadership positions. Because of their gender, they are stereotypically considered uninterested in taking responsibility, lacking initiative, the right formal qualifications; the list could be continued endlessly. For women actually inhabiting a leader position, the consequences are stigmatizing caricatures as, for instance, "the first violin", "the queen bee" or "the lonesome wolf".¹⁰

The culturally implicit assumption that a leader's characteristics are identical with stereotypical male gender characteristics we can find in different European countries as well as in different historical periods. Leader characteristics also vary in different competing discourses. This assumption is easily detected in business women's history, in women magazines' presentations as well as in descriptions of women leaders in the social sciences and the humanities. Let me give some examples to illustrate my point.

2.1 Historical examples

The collision between ideas of femininity and ideas of leadership was strongly visible in public opinion about women entrepreneurs in the 1950s and 60s. In Germany, particularly business women had to fight a range of prejudices and stereotypes which attacked women for doing business and managers for being women. Business women were talked about as a crisis phenomenon of the postwar period, and it was hoped that it would disappear by itself. They were seen to be able to organize only small unimportant businesses which could not survive (male) competition. Women as gender were considered incapable of understanding the principles of economy and business. Women's nature was regarded as disabling them for business tasks while the successful performance of those tasks in the eyes of the public entailed a masculinization of the business women.¹¹

In the Netherlands, there was a similar problem. Since women in the period 1950 - 1975 were not supposed to work outside the home, and since it was considered unnatural for them to be in charge of men, "a business woman was, in fact, a *contradictio in terminis*."¹² The collision between gender specific and professional constructs not only discredits women in leader positions with regard to their femaleness and their professional abilities. Being a structural part of our culture, it also is the underlying reason for the specific difficulties women face when heading for management jobs.

The idea of masculinity and therefore the idea of leadership excludes feminine aspects and vice versa. Not only our ideas about masculinity and femininity are culturally determined fictional constructs. The same goes for our ideas about leaders or, more specifically, managers. But our constructs of gender and therefore our ideas of leadership are in a constant process of construction and therefore change. They involve

"both discourses and practices, being a model of and a model for reality."¹³

2.2 Women's magazines

A close look at Danish and German women's magazines¹⁴ reveals that in the view of these magazines the right outfit is the most basic requirement for a woman to be able to have a successful career. Recommendations for the career woman's right clothing illustrate the split between gender and professional stereotypes. The magazines recommend combinations of kneeshort skirts, jackets with marked broad shoulders, silk stockings and elegant but not too high heels. The skirts allow enough of a glimpse at the woman's legs for her to be sexually attractive and thus, in combination with the high heels, stress her femininity. The jackets' style borrows from the male suits and, together with the attaché briefcase, conveys a touch of masculinity and of competent professionalism.

Altogether, the look then gives the impression of a woman who slipped into a man's job and outfit, combining it with her female obligation to sexual attractiveness. But nevertheless, because of her female body, she will always be stuck in the social category of "woman" (Aalten, 1989). Used in the context of leader jobs, this category will stop her from being considered a complete equal in the social category of leader, which is part of the male gender construction. Consequently, she will never be considered to be able to fill out her career job in the same way as a man. In other words, no matter what she does, she will never be able to fulfil the expectations of the existing masculine standard for leaders.

2.3 Studies on entrepreneurship

The humanities' research on leadership is also based on ideas of leadership closely connected to perceptions of gender. In Germany, women as entrepreneurs are nonexistent in conventional historical studies on entrepreneurship and industrialization, studies which are written in the male gender neutral tradition of history writing. They are simply considered nonexistent and therefore not drawn into the considerations of (naturally male) historians. The reason is found in the definition of entrepreneurship as an exclusively male profession, prohibiting the visibility of women entrepreneurs in history.¹⁵ The few existing historical studies of women entrepreneurs, on the other hand, all lack a gender perspective and are therefore only useful for making the pure existence of business women visible in history.¹⁶

Besides, historians' perceptions of women entrepreneurs in the 19th century stay within the gender ideology of (male) choice and (female) necessity¹⁷: while male entrepreneurs are thought to freely have chosen their profession, female entrepreneurs are seen to have overtaken the business out of necessities in order to support their families, because the family business lacked a male heir, or because the male heir was still a boy.¹⁸

Not only the public opinion and the humanities, but also the social science studies of women and leadership are deeply rooted in the connection of gender constructs and leadership ideas. Gry Cathrin Brandser's analysis (1993) shows how conventional research on women managers is based on assumptions of the ways organizations work and are connected to "heroical leadership" (heroisk lederskap), which are both deeply rooted in the ideas of masculinity. This has consequences for the demands which are directed towards women managers, the meaning of "woman" and thus the conditions women managers are supposed to fulfil.¹⁹

While some researchers take an outset in the exceptionality of women managers, others try to explain the fact that there are (in relation to men) only few women leaders. They therefore look at specific organizations and their leader recruitment policies, especially as regards female candidates (Billing, Alvesson, 1989). Their results show that there are important differences in the individual organization's gender and leadership policies. But despite these differences and despite the small differences in the organizations' proportion of women leaders, they nevertheless all have in common that there is only a low percentage of women leaders and that gender obviously is significant for their leader recruitment. The studies do not explain this, just as they cannot explain the shortage of women leaders in all Western societies not only today but also in earlier historical periods. Neither can they explain the special problems women face occupying a leader position. The reason is that those studies lack a genderhistorical perspective and do not look at single organizations as part of their surrounding culture. They also lack a historical view on competing leadership concepts.

In order to understand the problems of gender and leadership and to find a basis from which to act for future gender equality in the management area, we need to analyse how the interplay between gender and professional stereotypical constructs functions. We also need to understand the dynamics of this interplay and, most important, whether they involve changing gender boundaries.

3. Conclusion

As I pointed out above, we have to analyse the cultural perceptions of gender and leadership in order to understand the low percentage of female leaders and the specific problems of potential career women. Studies focusing on educational differences, family responsibility,

childhood experiences or single organizations are not sufficient, as they oversee the underlying culture of gender perceptions in connection with professional stereotypes and therefore cannot fully grasp the facts.

Furthermore, discussions about and research on leaders and leadership are not a contemporary phenomenon, but can be traced back into the last century.²⁰ Our perceptions of gender and leadership must be seen in a historical perspective, as our contemporary ideas about leadership and gender are rooted in historical developments. To understand the far-reaching exclusion of women from leader positions, and thus get a chance of changing this, we have to work interdisciplinarily.

At the same time, we should be conscious about our own underlying assumptions on gender which shape our projects and therefore our results. The proposition that top jobs are masculine and therefore have to be reshaped by female virtues stays within gender ideologies. So does the proposition that a more personal oriented management would open up opportunities for a higher percentage of women leaders.

We also have to be aware, that many of our problems are not specific for our own culture and time, but also exist in other countries and time periods. With respect to business women, there are gradual differences in women's share of leading positions and in the public opinion about these women. To get more women into top management, we have to break the cultural link of man and manager. To find out how this possibly can be done is one of the challenges to future gender studies.

Notes

1. Guldnummeret. Supplement to Børsens Nyhedsmagasin, 14-05-1993.
2. In Danmark, for instance, the "group at the highest level, directors, shows a stagnation in women's share of management jobs from 3,3% in 1983 to 4,0% in 1984 to 3,0% in 1985." Billing, Yvonne Due, Køn, karriere, familie. 1989, p. 25.
3. Vinterberg, Søren, En tur i høet med direktøren. Børsens Guldnummeret lukker udenforstående ind i erhvervslivets drømme om sig selv, in: Politiken, Wednesday 02-06-1993, sec. 4, p. 3.
4. The gender dichotomies are static, because they continue to hold on to the idea of opposite characteristics of the two sexes, but the content of dichotomies vary over time.
5. This has been shown in literature several times. As an example, see Mygind Madsen, Å., Humeniuk, J. (K/M-projektet), Hvorfor avancerer kvinder ikke i banker og sparekasser? Handelshøjskolen i Århus, June 1987.
6. Hausen, Karin, Die Polarisierung der Geschlechtscharaktere. Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben, in: Conze, Werner (ed.), Sozialgeschichte der Familie Europas. Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte, vol. 21. Stuttgart 1976, pp. 363 - 393.
7. Hausen herself uses the term "biological sex". Referring to G. Bock, I here use the term "physiological" instead. She pointed out, that "historically and culturally "biology" has itself been a socio-cultural category, a discourse and a strategy for intervention." Bock, G., Challenging Dichotomies: Perspectives on Women's History, in: Offen, K., Pierson, R., Rendall, J., Writing Women's History. London 1991.
8. Rosenbeck, Bente, Kroppens politik. Om køn, kultur og videnskab. Københavns Universitet 1992. Rang, Brita, Zur Geschichte des dualistischen Denkens über Mann und Frau, in: J. Dahlhoff, U. Frey, I. Schöll (ed.), Frauenmacht in der Geschichte. Geschichtsdidaktik, vol. 41, Düsseldorf 1986.

9. This is also true for politics; but here the aspect of publicity in connection with the gender woman adds another quality to the problem.
10. The examples are taken from Brandser (1993), who herself is referring to Loden (1987).
11. Rittenhofer (1991).
12. Aalten (1989), pp. 160-161.
13. Aalten (1989), p. 161. Aalten only applies this definition to the sex-gender system, while I extend it to ideas of leadership as a part of the male gender construct, a point which is overseen by Aalten and also by Saxonhouse (1992).
14. For example the Danish "Alt for damerne" or the German "Brigitte". There certainly could be found many more examples.
15. Rittenhofer (1991), pp. 5-10. See for example the studies of J. Kocka (1975), H. Kaelble (1972) and F. Redlich (1964).
16. Rittenhofer (1991), pp. 5-10. See for example the studies of Probst, A. (1985) and Hlawatschek, E. (1985).
17. The thought that there is made a connection of woman, body and necessity and of man, freedom and choice I took from Arlene W. Saxonhouse's (1992) excellent analysis of the antique Greeks' perceptions of women in power.
18. See note 16 above.
19. Brandser (1993).
20. Thomsen (1986).

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Programme

Gender Relations - State, Market, and Civil Society The Nordic Experiences in a European Perspective

**Aalborg University, Fibigerstræde 2
August 14 - 18, 1993**

**Programme Committee:
Ruth Emerek, Ulla Koch, Anna-Birte Ravn, and Birte Siim**

Sunday, August 15

- 9.00 - 10.00 a.m. **Registration and coffee**
- 10.00 - 10.30 a.m. **Introduction and presentation**
- 10.30 - 12.30 a.m. **Sylvia Walby: *Different Forms of Patriarchy: European Comparisons***
- 12.30 - 2.00 p.m. **Lunch and coffee**
- 2.00 - 3.00 p.m. **Section I: Gender and the Labour Market**
Introduction by Ruth Emerek & Bodil Bjerring: *Danish/Nordic Research on Gender and the Labour Market: Status and Visions*
- 3.00 - 6.00 p.m. **Short presentation of participants' papers in section I**
Discussion of main problems and key concepts
Chair: Drude Dahlerup
Marianne Rostgård: *The Creation of a Gendered Division of Labour in the Danish Textile Industry*
Iris Rittenhofer: *Leadership in a Genderhistorical Perspective*
Yvonne Due Billing: *Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding*
Eileen Drew: *The Part-Time Option? Women and Part-Time Work in the European Community*
Bodil Bjerring: *Women's Industrial Work in North Jutland*
Ruth Emerek: *On the Subject of Measuring Women's (and Men's) Participation in the Labour Market - An Attempt to categorize and examine Wage Earners Participation in the Labour Market*
- 6.00 - 8.00 p.m. **Dinner**
- 8.00 - 9.30 p.m. **Ph.D. programmes in England, Ireland and Sweden**
Introduction by Sylvia Walby, Eileen Drew & Yvonne Hirdman

Monday, August 16

- 9.00 - 10.45 a.m. **Jane Lewis: *Gender and Social Policy in Europe: Work, the Family, and the State***
- 10.45 - 11.00 a.m. **Coffee break**
- 11.00 - 12.00 a.m. **Section II: Gender, Welfare, and the Family**
Introduction by Maren Bak: *Danish/Nordic Research on Gender, Welfare and the Family: Status and Visions*
- 12.00 - 1.00 p.m. **Section III: Gender, Power, and Democratic Citizenship**
Introduction by Birte Siim: *Danish/Nordic Research on Gender, Power, and Democratic Citizenship: Status and Visions*
- 1.00 - 3.00 p.m. **Lunch and coffee**

- 3.00 - 6.00 p.m. **Short presentation of participants' papers in section II & III**
 Discussion of main problems and key concepts
 Chair: Karen Sjørup
 Ulla Koch: *Studying Care in Modern Economies - Considerations on Methods and Theory Building*
 Drude Dahlerup: *Learning to Live with the State. State, Market and Civic Society: Women's Need for State Intervention in East and West*
 Anette Aunbirk: *Negotiating Parental Leave*
 Maren Bak: *Family Research and Theory in Denmark: A Literature Review*
 Birte Siim: *Gender, Power and, Democratic Citizenship*
 Ann-Dorte Christensen: *Gender, Mobilization, and Empowerment*
- 7.30 - **Dinner**

Tuesday, August 17

- 9.00 - 10.45 a.m. **Yvonne Hirdman: Gender Systems and the Nordic Welfare States**
- 10.45 - 11.00 a.m. **Coffee break**
- 11.00 - 12.00 a.m. **Section IV: Gender Theory and Feminist Research**
 Introduction by Anna-Birte Ravn & Susanne Thorbek: *Danish/Nordic Research on Gender Theory: Status and Visions*
- 12.00 - 2.00 p.m. **Lunch and coffee**
- 2.00 - 4.00 p.m. **Short presentation of participants' papers in section IV**
 Discussion of main problems and key concepts
 Chair: Birte Siim
 Karen Sjørup: *Patriarchy and the Female Subject*
 Hanne Marlene Dahl: *Contemporary Theories of Patriarchy - Like a Bird Without Wings? Power, Signification and Gender in the Reproduction of Patriarchy*
 Lene Gregersen: *Moving far beyond the Separated Fields of Patriarchal Scholarship; the Qualitative Leap of Philosophical Daring*
 Susanne Thorbek: *Gender in two Slum Cultures*
 Anna-Birte Ravn: *Equality versus Difference and Gender versus Class in Danish Women's History*
- 4.00 - 5.00 p.m. **General conclusions on the contents of Ph.D. programmes in social science gender studies**
 Chair: Ruth Emerek, Ulla Koch, Anna-Birte Ravn and Birte Siim

Wednesday, August 18

- 9.00 - 12.00 a.m. Meeting on future national and international cooperation on Ph.D. programmes in social science gender studies

Conference papers published elsewhere:

Sylvia Walby: 'Gender, Work and Fordism: The EC Context'. **International Journal of Sociology**, Winter 1994-95. To be reprinted in Thomas Boje (ed.): **Welfare State and the Labour Market in a Changing Europe: Consequences for Citizenship, Work and Gender**. M.E. Sharpe.

Yvonne Hirdmann: **Women - from Possibility to Problem? Gender Conflict in the Welfare State - the Swedish Model**. Research Report No. 3, 1994, Stockholm: Arbetslivscentrum.

Marianne Rostgård: 'The Creation of a Gendered Division of Labour in the Danish Textile Industry'. In Gertjan de Groot & Marlou Schrover (eds.): **Women Workers and Technological Change in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe**. The Falmer Press (UK), 1994.

Yvonne Due Billing & Mats Alvesson: 'Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding'. **Organization Studies** 13/12 1992, 73-102.

Eileen Drew: 'The Part-Time Option? Women and Part-Time Work in the European Community'. **Women's Studies International Forum**, Vol. 15, Nos. 5/6, 1992, 607-614.

Bodil Bjerring: 'Kvinder på fabriksarbejde i Nordjylland'. In Esther Fihl & Jens Pinholt: **Livsformer og kultur**. Århus: Akademisk Forlag 1992.

Drude Dahlerup: 'Learning to Live with the State - State, Market, and Civil Society: Women's Need for State Intervention in East and West'. **Women's Studies International Forum**, Vol. 17, Nos. 2/3, 1994, 117-127.

Anette Aunbirk: 'Forhandling om forældreorlov'. **Dansk Sociologi** nr. 3. 1993, 56-72.

Susanne Thorbek: 'Gender in Two Slum Cultures'. In Signe Arnfred et al. (eds.): **The Language of Development Studies**. Copenhagen 1990. And in **Environment and Urbanization**, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1991.

Anna-Birte Ravn: 'Equality versus Difference and Gender versus Class in Danish Women's History'. To appear in **NORA - Nordic Journal of Women's Studies**, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1995.

Publications in FREIA's paper series:

1. Karin Widerberg: Udfordringer til kvinneforskningen i 1990'erne - foredrag på Center for Kvinneforskning i Aalborg 10.5.90, 1992.
2. Feminist Research. Aalborg University. Report 1976-1991, 1992.
3. Ann-Dorte Christensen: Kvinder i den nye fredsbevægelse i Danmark - mellem køkkenruller, resolutioner og teltpæle, 1992.
4. Ulla Koch: Uformel økonomi og social arbejdsdeling - en fortælling om tværfaglighed og det umuliges kunst, 1992.
5. Marianne Rostgaard: Kvindearbejde og kønsarbejdsdeling i tekstilindustrien i Danmark ca. 1830 - 1915, 1992.
6. Inger Agger: Køn og krænkelse - om politisk vold mod kvinder, 1992.
7. Margrethe Holm Andersen: Heks, hore eller heltinde? - et case-studie om tanzanianske kvinders politiske deltagelse og kønsideologier i forandring, 1993.
8. Ulla Koch: A Feminist Political Economics of Integration in the European Community - an outline, 1993.
9. Susanne Thorbek: Urbanization, Slum Culture, Gender Struggle and Women's Identity, 1993.
10. Susanne Thorbek: Køn og Urbanisering, 1994.
11. Poul Knopp Damkjær: Kvinder & rektorstillinger - et indlæg i ligestillingsdebatten, 1994.
12. Birte Siim: Det kønnede demokrati - kvinders medborgerskab i de skandinaviske velfærdsstater, 1994.
13. Anna-Birte Ravn: Kønsarbejdsdeling - diskurs og magt, 1994.
14. Bente Rosenbeck: Med kønnet tilbage til den politiske historie, 1994.
15. Jytte Bang og Susanne Stubgaard: Piger og fysik i gymnasiet, 1994.
16. Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen og Monica Rudberg: Jenter og gutter i forandring, 1994.
17. Jane Lewis: Gender, Family and the Study of Welfare 'Regimes', 1995.

18. Iris Rittenhofer: A Roll in the Hay with the Director: The Manager in a Genderhistorical Perspective, 1995.
19. Ruth Emerek: On the Subject of Measuring Women's (and Men's) Participation in the Labour Market, 1995.
20. Maren Bak: Family Research and Theory in Denmark: A Literature Review, 1995.
21. Ann-Dorte Christensen & Birte Siim: Gender, Citizenship and Political Mobilization, 1995.
22. Hanne Marlene Dahl: Contemporary Theories of Patriarchy - Like a Bird without Wings? Power, Signification and Gender in the Reproduction of Patriarchy, 1995.
23. Lene Klitrose: Moving far beyond the Separated Fields of Patriarchal Scholarship: the Qualitative Leap of Philosophical Daring, 1995.
24. Ulla Koch: Omsorgsbegrebet i lyset af international økonomisk integration - begrebs- og metodediskussion, 1995.
25. Karen Sjørup: Patriarkatet og det kvindelige subjekt, 1995.

FREIA - the Feminist Research Centre in Aalborg is an interdisciplinary organization of feminist researchers at Aalborg University. Focus of the centre lies within the social sciences, especially the fields of anthropology, history, sociology/social science, political science, economics and development studies. The present research programme "Gender relations - power, identity and social change" forms the framework of a number of individual and collective projects. FREIA is part of the Department of Development and Planning at Aalborg University.